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ABSTRACT

This booklet reports the results of a study of bond elections that were held in Iowa from 1960 to 1973. The study sought to determine those factors that tended to help bond elections succeed and those that tended to cause failure. The report discusses the value of specific tactics and identifies some helpful factors such as the best months of the year, the best days of the month, and the best days of the week in which to hold referenda. In addition, the author points out the merits of using (1) newspaper coverage, (2) lay and professional personnel, (3) brochures, (4) public meetings, (5) telephone campaigns, (6) doorbelling, and (7) rides to polls. A related document is ED 058 652. (JF)

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a treatise covering tactics successfully implemented in recent iowa bond elections

WINNING·BOND·ELECTIONS

william hukill, p.e., architect

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INTRODUCTION

THE OBJECTIVE OF ANY CAPITAL FUND REFERENDUM IS ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT BY THE ELECTORATE, SO THAT THE DESIGNATED PROJECT MIGHT PROCEED, THEREBY SOLVING THAT PORTION OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS. ACCOMPLISHING THIS OBJECTIVE IN IOWA IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT, INASMUCH AS STATE LAW REQUIRES THAT A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE (60%)[1] OF VOTERS MUST FAVOR ANY ISSUE, OR IT WILL NOT SUCCEED. FURTHER COMPLICATING THE IOWA BOND ELECTION PICTURE IS THAT THE LAW PROHIBITS RE-SUBMISSION OF ELECTIONS AT INTERVALS LESS THAN SIX MONTHS. CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF CURRENT CONSTRUCTION PRICE INCREASES (WHICH HAVE AVERAGED OVER 10% PER YEAR THE LAST THREE YEARS[2]) AND THE COST OF HOLDING AN ELECTION, IT BECOMES QUITE OBVIOUS THAT YOUR CAMPAIGN MUST BE TAILORED TO SUCCESS, AND EVERY EFFORT POSSIBLE MUST BE EXPENDED TOWARD THAT OBJECTIVE.

[1] CODE OF IOWA CHAPTER 75, SECTION 75.1

[2] ENGR. NEWS RECORD DEC. 21, 1972 P.42

OUR RECENT BOND ELECTION STUDY WAS UNDERTAKEN TO DETERMINE THOSE FACTORS TENDING TO HELP BOND ELECTIONS SUCCEED, AND THOSE FACTORS TENDING TO CAUSE FAILURE. THE ANALYSIS COVERS BOND ELECTIONS HELD IN IOWA FROM JANUARY 1, 1960, TO THE PRESENT. AN EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO KEEP THE SURVEY CONTINUOUSLY CURRENT. RESPONSE AND COOPERATION HAS BEEN EXCELLENT, AND OUR RECORDS ARE RELATIVELY COMPLETE. DETAILED QUESTIONNAIRES HAVE BEEN SENT TO ALL SCHOOL DISTRICTS KNOWN TO HAVE HELD RECENT ELECTIONS. NEARLY ALL (WELL OVER 90%) HAVE RESPONDED.

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT TACTICS DEVELOPED IN THIS REPORT CAN AND WILL MARKEDLY IMPROVE CHANCES FOR SUCCESS, BUT CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO GUARANTEE PASSAGE OF ANY REFERENDUM WHERE POSITIVE NEED FOR THE PROGRAM IS NOT ESTABLISHED, AND/OR LEGAL REQUIREMENTS ARE NOT MET.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

William V. Hukill was born on the East Coast (Washington D.C.), attended school on the West Coast (Washington State) and graduated from college in the Midwest (Iowa State University.) His professional capabilities are equally varied, as he is both a Registered Architect and a Registered Professional Engineer. He recently returned from a school Environmental Planning Institute at Stanford University.

For many years Mr. Hukill has placed major emphasis on the programming, planning, design and construction of elementary and secondary schools, having been associated in a responsible capacity on scores of educational projects during that period. He is a distinguished member of the National Council of Educational Facilities Planners and a continuing member of the National School Facilities Council.

His work has been published in a number of periodicals, both regional and national, and his Harding Junior High School in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has been selected as the Nation's School of the Month.

Mr. Hukill is a full partner in his own architectural firm, and has served several terms as Treasurer of the Iowa Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. His civic activities include a long period on the Board of Appeals for the Uniform Building Code and Presidency of his Service Club (Optimists). He has also served as an Elder in his Church (Disciples of Christ) and held various Board memberships, (Y.M.C.A., Boys Camp, etc.). He is a biographee of Marquis' "Who's Who in the Midwest."

In his home state, Iowa, most public school building programs must be approved by the public at an election. Because of this, and because of a recent trend toward failure of such elections, Mr. Hukill has spent the last several years obtaining data on past Iowa School Bond elections and analyzing relevant data. The objective, of course, was to establish trends which tend to occur in bond issue campaigns that are successful. The study is being made available publicly because it is Mr. Hukill's feeling that success begets success, and it is in the interest of every school child, parent and educator that his own school district provide the most favorable environment possible for the learning process.

CHAPTER 1 - ANALYZING PAST ELECTIONS

CERTAIN BASIC CONCLUSIONS CAN BE REACHED BY EXAMINING THE ATTACHED EXHIBITS. ONCE YOU HAVE ESTABLISHED NEED FOR THE PROGRAM AND ATTACHED A DOLLAR VALUE TO IT, YOU WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH ALL KINDS OF ADVICE RELATING TO SELECTION OF AN ELECTION DATE. OUR STUDIES ARE QUITE CONCLUSIVE IN THIS REGARD. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAVE BEEN MORE ELECTIONS HELD IN DECEMBER (117) AND MAY (125) THAN ANY OTHER MONTHS BUT ONLY JUNE, JULY AND OCTOBER HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN WORSE FOR OBTAINING APPROVAL. IN GENERAL TERMS[1], THE EARLIER IN THE CALENDAR YEAR AN ELECTION IS HELD, THE BETTER ITS CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. MAJOR EXCEPTIONS ARE AUGUST AND NOVEMBER, WHICH ARE SOMEWHAT BETTER THAN OTHER MONTHS IN THE LAST HALF OF THE YEAR.

[1] PLATE "C"

WHEN SELECTING THE TIME OF THE MONTH[2], STAY AWAY FROM THE LAST FEW DAYS, AND TRY TO MISS THE PERIOD JUST BEFORE THE 15TH. BY SELECTING THE 18TH, FOR EXAMPLE, INSTEAD OF THE 28TH, YOUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS IMPROVE FROM LESS THAN ONE IN TWO TO NEARLY TWO IN THREE.

[2] PLATE "D"

ALTHOUGH NOT QUITE AS MARKED, DAY OF THE WEEK ALSO APPEARS TO MAKE SOME DIFFERENCE.[3] A THURSDAY OR FRIDAY NORMALLY WILL BE A LITTLE BETTER SELECTION THAN OTHER WEEKDAYS, AND SIGNIFICANTLY BETTER THAN SATURDAY.

[3] PLATE "E"

YOU SHOULD NOT BE GREATLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DOLLAR AMOUNT YOU SELECT, AS THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN YOUR CHANCES FOR AN ISSUE, FOR EXAMPLE, SLIGHTLY OVER ONE MILLION DOLLARS AS COMPARED TO ONE SLIGHTLY UNDER THAT FIGURE. THE GENERAL TREND, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE LARGER THE AMOUNT, THE LESS CHANCE YOU HAVE FOR SUCCESS. ISSUES UNDER $250,000 HAVE A MUCH BETTER SUCCESS RATIO, AND ISSUES OVER ABOUT $1,500,000 HAVE A SLIGHTLY WORSE SUCCESS RATIO THAN ISSUES BETWEEN THOSE FIGURES. VARIATIONS BETWEEN $250,000 AND $1,500,000 ARE INSIGNIFICANT, AND YOUR CHANCES ARE NEARLY AS GOOD VOTING $1,500,000 AS THEY ARE VOTING $500,000. KEEP IN MIND THAT REGARDLESS OF THE SIZE OF THE ISSUE, YOU MUST ESTABLISH POSITIVE NEED; FAILURE TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WILL RESULT IN FAILURE AT THE POLLS.

CERTAIN TRENDS ESTABLISHED BY THIS SURVEY TEND TO SUBSTANTIATE TRENDS FOUND ON PREVIOUS SURVEYS, AS FOLLOWS:

1. VOTER TURNOUT DOES NOT PARTICULARLY INFLUENCE ELECTION RESULTS. [4,5,6] TURNOUT WAS "MUCH HIGHER" OR "SOMEWHAT HIGHER" THAN REGULAR SCHOOL ELECTIONS IN WELL OVER 90% OF THE IOWA ELECTIONS STUDIED, AND WAS ABOUT THE SAME FOR BOTH SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL ELECTIONS. CONCLUSION: INDISCRIMINATE TACTICS USED TO INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT ARE OF QUESTIONABLE VALUE AT BEST.

2. GENERAL INFORMATION IS MORE DESIRABLE THAN SPECIFIC INFORMATION IN PROMOTION.[7] CONCLUSION: DO NOT PROVIDE VAST QUANTITIES OF MEANINGLESS DETAIL WHICH VOTERS MAY NOT UNDERSTAND. CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON THE IMPORTANT UNDERSTANDABLE OBJECTIVES OF YOUR PROGRAM. YOUR INTENTION IS TO HAVE THE ELECTORATE CAST THEIR BALLOTS FOR A STATED SET OF EDUCATIONAL NEEDS, NOT A SERIES OF CONSTRUCTION DETAILS.

3. PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE HELD IN 87% OF ALL DISTRICTS, AND OF THOSE, JUST UNDER 70% PASSED COMPARED TO A PASS-FAIL RATIO FOR ALL ELECTIONS OF 69-31. CONCLUSION: PUBLIC MEETINGS, PER SE, DO NOT SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. MORE ABOUT SELECTIVE MEETINGS IN CHAPTER IV.

4. GENERAL TELEPHONE CAMPAIGNS ARE HARMFUL.[8] OUR STUDY SHOWS THAT IN DISTRICTS ORGANIZING TELEPHONE CAMPAIGNS, ABOUT 63% SUCCEEDED IN PASSING THEIR ELECTION, COMPARED WITH 69% SUCCESS FOR ALL ELECTIONS. CONCLUSION: DO NOT TELEPHONE ALL VOTERS EITHER BEFORE THE ELECTION OR ON ELECTION DAY. MORE ABOUT SELECTIVE TELEPHONING IN CHAPTER IV.

5. PROVIDING RIDES TO THE POLLS IS DETRIMENTAL TO YOUR CHANCES.[9] ABOUT ONE-HALF OF SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL DISTRICTS PROVIDED RIDES TO POLLS, WHEREAS FREE RIDES WERE PROVIDED IN TWO-THIRDS OF UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS. CONCLUSION: DO NOT ORGANIZE A METHOD OF PROVIDING RIDES. IF YOU FEEL YOU MUST PROVIDE RIDES, DO NOT ADVERTISE THAT YOU ARE DOING SO.

[4] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUES, SUMMARY REPORT, BEAL, ET AL, 1966, P. A-16

[5] NATIONS SCHOOLS, AARON CODOHES

[6] COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS, CARTER AND SUTHOFF, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

[7] AN ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGNS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL BOND PROPOSALS, THOMAS P. BENNETT

[8] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUES, DATA BOOK, BEAL, ET AL, P. 115, GABLE 132

[9] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUE DATA BOOK, BEAL, ET AL, P. 123, TABLE 147

6. PROVIDING ILLUSTRATED DRAWINGS OF THE PROPOSED PROJECT WILL NOT ASSIST YOU IN ANY WAY. 70% OF THE SUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS PROVIDED SUCH DRAWINGS, BUT 74% OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS PROVIDED DRAWINGS. CONCLUSION: ILLUSTRATED DRAWINGS ARE NOT A WORTHWHILE INVESTMENT, AND MAY, IN FACT, TEND TO COST MORE VOTES THAN THEY ATTRACT.

OTHER STUDIES HAVE ESTABLISHED CERTAIN OTHER TRENDS, AND THEY MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS YOU PLAN YOUR CAMPAIGN. FOR EXAMPLE:

1. NEWSPAPER COVERAGE MUST BE FAVORABLE:[10],[11],[12]

2. LETTER TO EDITOR CAMPAIGNS ARE DECIDEDLY BAD.[12]

3. LAY READERS ASSISTING IN PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGNS TEND TO HELP,[13] WHEREAS LAY LEADERS ASSISTING IN DEVELOPING EDUCATIONAL NEEDS TEND TO REDUCE YOUR CHANCES. CONVERSELY, PROFESSIONAL EDUCATIONAL STAFF INVOLVEMENT IN PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN IS HARMFUL, WHEREAS THEIR HELP IN DEVELOPING EDUCATIONAL NEED IS HELPFUL.

4. MOST VOTERS (PROBABLY 75% OR MORE) MAKE UP THEIR MINDS THE VERY FIRST TIME THEY HEAR OF AN ISSUE. MAKE YOUR FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT YOUR BEST.

OUR STUDY HAS ESTABLISHED TRENDS NOT PREVIOUSLY RECOGNIZED, OR IN CONFLICT WITH OTHER STUDIES, AS FOLLOWS:

1. ORGANIZED OPPOSITION IS HARMFUL. APPROXIMATELY ONE-HALF OF DISTRICTS ENCOUNTERING ORGANIZED OPPOSITION WERE SUCCESSFUL, WHEREAS WELL OVER 70% OF OTHER DISTRICTS WERE SUCCESSFUL. CONCLUSION: SPEND WHATEVER TIME IT TAKES TO HEAD OFF SUCH OPPOSITION.

2. UNANIMOUS STAFF SUPPORT IS NOT NECESSARY, BUT MAJOR BOARD OPPOSITION IS HARD TO OVERCOME. CONCLUSION: OBTAIN YOUR FIRST "YES" VOTES AMONG BOARD MEMBERS.

[10] PUBLIC OPINION, VOTER BEHAVIOR AND SCHOOL SUPPORT, M. JOHNSON, MAY, 1971, P. 55

[11] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUE DATA BOOK, BEAL, ET AL, P. 105-106, TABLE 117

[12] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUES DATA BOOK, BEAL, ET AL, P. 144

[13] AN ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGNS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL BOND PROPOSALS, THOMAS P. BENNETT

THE NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTER REPRESENTS A PARTICULAR CHALLENGE. YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN 18 AND 21 GENERALLY HAVE LITTLE OR NO FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY AND ARE NOT LIKELY TO HAVE FORMED A STRONG RESISTANCE TO OUR TAX STRUCTURE, INASMUCH AS THEY HAVE NOT HAD MUCH EXPERIENCE WITH IT. ADDITIONALLY, THEY TEND TO BE MUCH MORE IDEALISTIC THAN THEIR ELDERS, AND ARE MORE FAMILIAR WITH THE INSTANT PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICT. UNFORTUNATELY, THEY ARE INCLINED NOT TO SHOW UP AT THE POLLS.[14] ONE OF THE MAJOR EFFORTS OF THE CAMPAIGN MUST BE TO REACH THIS GROUP, REGISTER THEM, AND SEE TO IT THAT THEY ARE AT THE POLLS ELECTION DAY.

PARENTS OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT YOUR ISSUE THAN OTHER ADULTS.[15,16] THIS GROUP IS ONE OF THE EASIEST TO REACH, AND CERTAINLY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT.

RETIRED PERSONS,[15,17] AS A GROUP, WILL BE THE LEAST SUPPORTIVE GROUP OF ALL, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. NO AMOUNT OF EXPLANATION WILL BE VERY SUCCESSFUL IN GAINING THEIR SUPPORT, SO THE BEST TACTIC TO USE WITH THIS GROUP IS TO ANSWER THEIR QUESTIONS, BE POLITE, AND LEAVE THEM ALONE.

VOTER SUPPORT IS ROUGHLY PROPORTIONAL TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT.[18] COLLEGE GRADUATES ARE GENERALLY MORE LIBERAL, BETTER INFORMED OF SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND MORE TOLERANT OF SCHOOL DISCIPLINE STANDARDS THAN PERSONS WITH ONLY A HIGH SCHOOL OR GRADE SCHOOL EDUCATION. SEEK OUT THESE PEOPLE AND KEEP THEM INVOLVED.

WOMEN ARE MUCH MORE APT TO BE FAMILIAR WITH SCHOOLS THAN MEN.[18] THEY ALSO HAVE STRONGER FEELINGS RELATING TO SPECIFIC SCHOOL ACTIVITIES AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THEY VOTE MORE FAVORABLY ON SCHOOL ISSUES THAN MEN.[20] IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEY NOT BE OVERLOOKED IN YOUR CAMPAIGN.

[14] GALLUP OPINION INDEX REPORT NO. 65 GALLUP INTERNATIONAL NOVEMBER 1970

[15] PUBLIC OPINION, VOTER BEHAVIOR AND SCHOOL SUPPORT, M. JOHNSON MAY, 1971, P. 8,9

[16] UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION RESEARCH PROJECT #308, VOTERS AND THEIR SCHOOLS

[17] 1970 SCHOOL LEVY SURVEY, TEMPORARY SPECIAL LEVY STUDY COMMISSION (WASHINGTON STATE) 1970

[18] GALLUP OPINION INDEX, REPORT NO. 66., GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, DECEMBER, 1970

[19] PUBLIC OPINION, VOTER BEHAVIOR AND SCHOOL SUPPORT, M. JOHNSON, MAY, 1971, P. 45-48

[20] BUSINESS CLIMATE SURVEY, STATE OF WASHINGTON CENTRAL SURVEYS, INC., MARCH-APRIL, 1970

4. AGE LEVEL OF VOTERS IS IMPORTANT. SIX OUT OF SEVEN IOWA ELECTIONS WHERE VOTER TURNOUT WAS GENERALLY YOUNGER THAN AT OTHER ELECTIONS SUCCEEDED. CONVERSELY, ONLY 26 OF 62 ELECTIONS PASSED WHERE VOTER TURNOUT WAS GENERALLY OLDER THAN AT OTHER ELECTIONS. CONCLUSION: YOUTHFUL VOTERS MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO REGISTER AND VOTE.

5. NEWLY ENFRANCHISED VOTERS DO NOT VOTE. THEY HAVE NOT ESTABLISHED A HABIT OF VOTING, ARE OFTEN POORLY INFORMED AND ARE UNSURE OF THE MECHANICS OF VOTING. CONCLUSION: YOU MUST ENDEAVOR TO ESTABLISH A VOTING HABIT AMONG YOUNGER VOTERS, GETTING THEM REGISTERED (IF REQUIRED) AND THEN INTO THE POLLING PLACE.

CHAPTER II - ANALYZING THE VOTER

PREVIOUS STUDIES HAVE ESTABLISHED THAT NORMALLY FEWER THAN HALF (40%) OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS WILL TURN OUT FOR A BOND ELECTION, AND THAT THESE SAME 40% HAVE CAST OVER 80% OF ALL VOTES[1] OVER THE PREVIOUS SEVERAL YEARS. IN SIMPLE TERMS, THIS MEANS THAT YOU ARE WASTING EFFORT, TIME AND MONEY, IN ATTEMPTING TO SECURE THE VOTE OF A PERSON WHO HISTORICALLY DOES NOT VOTE. SO THE FIRST THING YOU MUST FIND OUT IS WHO THE PEOPLE ARE THAT ACTUALLY VOTE.

[1] PUBLIC RELATIONS, COMPUTERS AND ELECTION PLANNING, WILLIAM J. BANACH; SCHOOL MANAGEMENT, OCTOBER, 1971, P. 24-25

PEOPLE WHO ARE SOCIALLY INVOLVED ARE MORE LIKELY TO VOTE THAN THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED,[2] AND WHEN THEY VOTE, THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT YOUR POSITION. THE SOCIALLY INVOLVED ARE THOSE PERSONS WHO ARE INVOLVED IN PRACTICALLY EVERYTHING THAT GOES ON IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT FROM SERVICE CLUBS AND PTA TO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CHURCH GROUPS, CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS, YMCA, FARM GROUPS, WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES AND SO ON. THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED ARE THOSE PERSONS WITH A CENTRAL SENSE OF ISOLATION FROM GROUPS AROUND THEM. THEY ARE NON-PARTICIPANTS AND OFTEN ARE REJECTED BY THEIR PEERS, OR AT LEAST THINK OF THEMSELVES AS REJECTED. ONE OF YOUR OBJECTIVES IS TO ENGAGE THE SUPPORT OF THE SOCIALLY INVOLVED. DO NOT DIRECT YOUR EFFORTS TOWARD THE SOCIALLY ALIENATED, AS THEY PROBABLY WILL NOT SHOW UP AT THE POLLS IN ANY SIGNIFICANT NUMBER, AND IF THEY DO VOTE THEY WILL PROBABLY NOT SUPPORT YOU.

[2] PUBLIC OPINION, VOTER BEHAVIOR AND SCHOOL SUPPORT, M. JOHNSON, MAY, 1971, P. 51-55

THE POWER STRUCTURE OF A COMMUNITY IS A LOOSELY DEFINED UNOFFICIAL GROUP CONSISTING OF PERSONS WHO BY REASON OF POSITION AND/OR PERSUASION ARE INFLUENTIAL OVER RATHER LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE ELECTORATE. THEY MAY BE IN POLITICAL, PROFESSIONAL OR BUSINESS POSITIONS, FARMERS, HOUSEWIVES OR FROM ANY OTHER GROUP, BUT THEY HAVE AS A COMMON DENOMINATOR THE ABILITY TO PERSUADE OTHERS TO A PARTICULAR LINE OF REASONING. YOU SHOULD IDENTIFY THE POWER STRUCTURE IN YOUR AREA AND ENLIST THEIR SUPPORT AT A VERY EARLY DATE.

PROPERTY OWNERS AS A GROUP HAVE A VESTED INTEREST IN REFERENDA. RENTERS ON THE OTHER HAND, FEEL THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE A DIRECT INTEREST IN PROPERTY TAX, AND TEND TO VOTE MORE FAVORABLY THAN PROPERTY OWNERS.[3] ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT A LARGE GROUP, IT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED.

[3] PUBLIC OPINION, VOTER BEHAVIOR AND SCHOOL SUPPORT, M. JOHNSON, MAY, 1971, P. 51-55

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE ARE MORE APT TO ACTUALLY VOTE, AND ARE MORE APT TO SUPPORT SCHOOL ISSUES THAN ANY OTHER GROUP.[4] THEY ARE ALSO, OF COURSE, OFTEN TIMES A PART OF THE POWER STRUCTURE. MAKE SURE THAT THEY BECOME INVOLVED IN ELECTION PROCEDURES, AND MAKE SURE THAT THEY VOTE.

[4] GALLUP OPINION INDEX, REPORT NO. 66., GALLUP INTERNATIONAL, DECEMBER, 1970

ALL OF THE PRECEEDING GROUPS OF PEOPLE WILL TEND TO SUPPORT YOUR ISSUE. THE MORE OF THESE GROUPS THAT A PERSON FALLS INTO, THE MORE FAVORABLE HE WILL BE. BUT KEEP IN MIND THAT THE SINGLE MOST RELIABLE INDICATOR OF A VOTER'S POSITION IS HIS VOTE IN THE PRECEDING ELECTIONS.[5]

[5] 1970 SCHOOL LEVY SURVEY, TEMPORARY SPECIAL LEVY STUDY COMMISSION (WASHINGTON STATE) 1970

RECORDS ARE AVAILABLE FROM PUBLIC AUTHORITIES INDICATING VOTE TOTALS, BOTH FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE, FROM PREVIOUS ELECTIONS. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM CENSUS REPORTS INDICATING POPULATION AND NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS. FROM THESE FIGURES YOU CAN DETERMINE ABOUT HOW LARGE A TURNOUT YOU MIGHT REASONABLY EXPECT ON YOUR ELECTION DAY. FROM THERE, IT IS A SIMPLE MATTER TO APPROXIMATE THE NUMBER OF FAVORABLE VOTES YOU MUST OBTAIN TO GUARANTEE SUCCESS.

RECORDS ARE ALSO AVAILABLE INDICATING WHO ACTUALLY VOTED AND WHO DID NOT IN PAST ELECTIONS. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO HAVE.

A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY HAS LONG BEEN FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS HIS OPINION AT THE BALLOT BOX. THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT HAPPEN IN BOND ELECTIONS IN IOWA, BECAUSE THE LEGISLATURE HAS SEEN FIT TO REQUIRE THREE AFFIRMATIVE VOTES FOR EACH TWO NEGATIVE VOTES ON SUCH ISSUES.[1] THE LEGALITY OF THIS PROVISION OF THE LAW HAS BEEN RECENTLY UPHELD IN BOTH THE IOWA SUPREME COURT AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.[2] UNTIL THE LEGISLATURE CHANGES THE LAW, IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT BOND ELECTIONS WILL NOT BE DEMOCRATIC IN IOWA. THE PLAIN HARD TRUTH IS THAT YOU MUST FORGET TRYING TO GET EVERYONE TO EXPRESS HIS OPINION AND CONCENTRATE ON GETTING AFFIRMATIVE VOTERS TO THE POLLS, AND IT IS THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN HOPE FOR ANY MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN YOUR CAMPAIGN.

[1] CODE OF IOWA, CHAPTER 75, SECTION 75/1

[2] GORDON VS LANTZ, #96, OCTOBER, 1970 TERM, UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

FROM PREVIOUS CHAPTERS IT HAS BEEN DEVELOPED THAT GENERAL TELEPHONE CAMPAIGNS, INDISCRIMINATE FREE RIDES TO THE POLLS, WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY AND OTHER SIMILAR TACTICS ARE NOT HELPFUL. THE REASON THEY ARE NOT HELPFUL IS THAT THEY ARE TACTICS WHICH ARE AIMED AT GETTING PEOPLE TO VOTE, BUT NOT NECESSARILY TO VOTE AFFIRMATIVELY. AN UNINFORMED VOTER CASTING A BALLOT IN YOUR ELECTION IS UNDESIREABLE. A GREAT MANY UNINFORMED VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS IN YOUR ELECTION WILL DEFEAT IT. WHY? THE BEST

YOU CAN HOPE FROM A NUMBER OF "WALK-IN", UNINFORMED VOTERS IS A 50% CHANCE FOR A "YES" VOTE. INASMUCH AS YOU MUST HAVE 60% FOR SUCCESS, IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT IF YOU DILUTE YOUR "YES" VOTES WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF 50-50 VOTERS, YOU WILL SUBSTANTIALLY DECREASE YOUR CHANCES OF PASSAGE.

PROBABLY THE MOST DIFFICULT CAMPAIGN FACTOR OF ALL TO ANALYZE IS TIME. MOST STUDIES HAVE INDICATED THAT A BOND ISSUE HAS ITS GREATEST CHANCE FOR SUCCESS ON ITS FIRST TRY.[3] THE CONCLUSION OFTEN DRAWN FROM THIS IS THAT THE MORE ADVANCE TIME GIVEN TO A PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN, THE BETTER YOUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS TO BE TRUE. ONCE PEOPLE BECOME INTERESTED AND INVOLVED THEY WILL PARTICIPATE--BUT ONLY UNTIL THAT INTEREST OR INVOLVEMENT DIMINISHES. THE IMPORTANT THING TO REMEMBER IS THAT YOUR VOTE MUST COME DURING THE PERIOD THAT INTEREST IS HIGH. DELAY BEYOND THAT POINT OF PEAK INTEREST WILL BE HARMFUL. AN EXCEPTION IS THE DISTRICT WHERE PUBLIC OPINION HAS DETERIORATED TO THE POINT THAT APATHY (OR WORSE) HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO BECOME PREVALENT IN SCHOOL-RELATED MATTERS. IF THIS CONDITION IS WIDESPREAD, YOU MUST INSTITUTE A CONTINUING PUBLIC RELATION CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT BEFORE ANY BOND ISSUE IS ATTEMPTED. MEND THE FENCES BEFORE YOU PLANT THE GARDEN.

[3] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUES DATA BOOK, BEAL, ET AL, P. 140

ASSUMING GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF YOUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS ADEQUATE, THERE IS NO REASON TO EXTEND A BOND ELECTION CAMPAIGN MUCH BEYOND THREE MONTHS. AND ONCE IT HAS BEGUN, IT SHOULD BE ORGANIZED TO BRING INTEREST AMONG INVOLVED PEOPLE TO A PEAK AT ELECTION TIME, AND NOT WEEKS OR MONTHS AHEAD OF ELECTION DAY. IF YOU ARE CONCERNED THAT THE ELECTORATE WILL FEEL AS THOUGH YOU ARE FORCE-FEEDING THEM BECAUSE OF THE SHORTNESS OF YOUR CAMPAIGN, BEGIN AHEAD OF TIME TO RELEASE PRELIMINARY INFORMATION OF A GENERAL NATURE. KEEP IN MIND, THOUGH, THAT YOUR INITIAL ANNOUNCEMENT IS YOUR SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT TACTIC. EVEN IF YOU ALLOW CERTAIN GENERAL KINDS OF INFORMATION TO CIRCULATE SEVERAL MONTHS AHEAD OF YOUR PROPOSED ELECTION, DO NOT START YOUR ACTIVE CAMPAIGN AT THAT TIME, AVOID DEBATES OR LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS AND DO NOT ENCOURAGE PREMATURE ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS ASSISTANCE GROUPS.

CHAPTER IV - ORGANIZE TO WIN.[1]

IF YOU HAVE STUDIED THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS AND ANALYZED THEIR CONTENT CAREFULLY, YOU HAVE BY NOW DISCOVERED THE TWO GREAT KEYS TO PASSING YOUR ELECTION:

1. EVERY SINGLE TACTIC YOU EMPLOY MUST BE JUDGED AGAINST ITS IMPACT AT THE POLLING PLACE, AND...

2. YOU MUST OBTAIN A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS WHO WILL ACTUALLY VOTE COME ELECTION DAY TO OVERCOME THE NEGATIVE VOTERS WHO WILL ALWAYS SHOW UP.

[1] NATIONS SCHOOLS, AARON CODOHES

SPECIFIC TACTICS WHICH WILL UNQUESTIONABLY INCREASE YOUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

1. PICK A FAVORABLE DAY FOR YOUR ELECTION. SEE PLATE E.

2. PICK A FAVORABLE MONTH FOR YOUR ELECTION. SEE PLATE C.

3. PICK A FAVORABLE TIME OF THE MONTH FOR YOUR ELECTION. SEE PLATE D.

4. OBTAIN FAVORABLE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

5. DISCOURAGE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

6. USE LAY LEADERS IN DEVELOPING THE CAMPAIGN, BUT NOT IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATIONAL DECISIONS.

7. USE PROFESSIONAL STAFF IN EDUCATIONAL DECISIONS, BUT NOT IN THE PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN.

8. DISCOURAGE ORGANIZED OPPOSITION IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

ANOTHER GROUP OF TACTICS HAVE LONG BEEN THOUGHT TO BE HELPFUL, BUT MAY ACTUALLY BE HARMFUL. A MORE COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF EACH FOLLOWS:

1. BROCHURES. OUR STUDY INDICATED BROCHURES HAVE BEEN PROVIDED IN MORE THAN FOUR OF EVERY FIVE IOWA BOND ELECTIONS DURING THE LAST DECADE. RESULTS INDICATE NO DIFFERENCE IN SUCCESS RATIOS IN DISTRICTS PRO-

VIDING BROCHURES. GENERAL CONCLUSION, THEN, MUST BE THAT BROCHURES, PER SE, ARE A WASTE OF TIME. DETAILED ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CERTAIN KINDS OF INFORMATION OCCURRED IN BROCHURES IN SUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS, AND OTHER KINDS APPEARED IN BROCHURES IN UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS. IF YOU FEEL YOU MUST HAVE A BROCHURE, INCLUDE ENROLLMENT PROJECTIONS (IF THEY ARE FAVORABLE). IT IS BETTER NOT TO INCLUDE A LIST OF SUPPORTERS. OTHER RECURRING ITEMS WITH NEGATIVE OR MARGINAL VALUE ARE FLOOR PLANS AND/OR PICTURE OF THE PROPOSED BUILDING AND SQUARE-FOOT COSTS. PHOTOS OF EXISTING CONDITIONS WERE USED BY A LARGER PORTION OF UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS THAN SUCCESSFUL ONES. BROCHURE DISTRIBUTION IS IMPORTANT, TOO. A GENERAL MAILING OR ANY OTHER GENERAL DISTRIBUTION IS OF QUESTIONABLE VALUE. USE BROCHURES ONLY FOR SELECTED GROUPS IF YOU USE THEM AT ALL.

2. PUBLIC MEETINGS. WELL OVER 85% OF ALL DISTRICTS HELD PUBLIC MEETINGS. THIS WAS CONSISTENTLY TRUE IN BOTH SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS. MEETINGS WERE, HOWEVER, MUCH BETTER ATTENDED IN SUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS. GENERAL CONCLUSION HERE IS THAT GENERAL PUBLIC MEETINGS WILL NOT HELP PASS AN ELECTION,[2] ALTHOUGH THEY MAY INCREASE THE VOTE TOTAL.

3. TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN. GENERAL TELEPHONE CAMPAIGNS FALL IN THE SAME CLASS WITH BROCHURES AND PUBLIC MEETINGS, EXCEPT THAT THEY ARE PROBABLY MORE HARMFUL THAN EITHER BROCHURES OR MEETINGS. SELECTIVE TELEPHONE CAMPAIGNS CAN BE A TREMENDOUS HELP, WHEN THEY ARE USED TO ENCOURAGE SUPPORTERS TO GO TO THE POLLS.

4. DOORBELLING. SAME AS TELEPHONING. SELECTIVE DOORBELLING TO ENCOURAGE SUPPORTERS TO VOTE IS GREAT,[3] BUT GENERAL DOORBELLING CAN ONLY BE HARMFUL.

5. RIDES TO THE POLLS. TWO FACTS DEVELOPED FROM OUR QUESTIONNAIRE RELATIVE TO PROVIDING FREE RIDES TO THE POLLS. FIRST, SUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS USED THEM LESS OFTEN THAN UNSUCCESSFUL DISTRICTS,[4] AND SECOND, MOST RECIPIENTS OF THE RIDES WERE ELDERLY PEOPLE, A GROUP WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY, IS NOT GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF BOND ELECTIONS. DO NOT PROVIDE RIDES--OR IF YOU MUST, DO NOT ADVERTISE THAT YOU ARE DOING SO.

[2] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUES DATA BOOK, BEAL ET AL 1. 115

[3] THE EFFECTS OF PRECINCT LEVEL CANVASSING ON VOTER BEHAVIOR, KRAMER, PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, WINTER, 1970-71

[4] IOWA SCHOOL BOND ISSUE DATA BOOK, BEAL ET AL P. 123

ORGANIZE A GROUP OF SUPPORTERS FROM AMONG THE SOCIALLY INVOLVED AND BREAK THEM INTO SUB-GROUPS BY PRECINCTS, WARDS OR DIRECTOR DISTRICTS, DEPENDING ON WHICHEVER IS MOST EASILY ORGANIZED. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THIS WORK MIGHT WELL APPROACH OR EVEN EXCEED 1% OF THE ELECTORATE. OBTAIN A LIST OF ALL VOTERS IN THE DISTRICT BY WHATEVER MEANS POSSIBLE. BEST SOURCE IN DISTRICTS REQUIRING REGISTRATION IS THE VOTER REGISTRATION LIST. ANOTHER SOURCE IS THE CITY OR COUNTY DIRECTORY. THE LIST DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ABSOLUTELY COMPLETE, BUT THE MORE COMPLETE THE BETTER YOUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS.

BREAK THE VOTER LISTS INTO GROUPS CORRESPONDING TO YOUR COMMITEE SUB-GROUPS. EACH SUB-GROUP HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DETERMINING THE POSITION---FOR, AGAINST, OR UNDECIDED--OF AS MANY PEOPLE ON ITS LIST AS POSSIBLE. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF DETERMINATIONS CAN BE MADE BY SIMPLY GATHERING THE SUB-GROUP TOGETHER AND GOING OVER EACH NAME. IN MOST CASES ONE OR MORE MEMBERS OF THE SUB-GROUP WILL BE ABLE TO PROJECT THE PROBABLE VOTE OF EACH LISTED VOTER.

THOSE PERSONS THOUGHT TO BE UNDECIDED OR WHOSE POSITION IS UNKNOWN SHOULD BE CONTACTED PERSONALLY, TO DETERMINE THEIR FEELINGS. NO ATTEMPT NEED BE MADE AT THIS TIME TO INFLUENCE THE VOTER'S OPINION. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT THE CONTACTED PERSON NOT BE DIRECTLY ASKED HIS POSITION, BUT RATHER BE ENGAGED IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES. IT HAS BEEN FOUND THAT MANY PERSONS WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH THE ANSWER YOU WISH TO HEAR, AND NOT NECESSARILY REPORT THEIR TRUE FEELINGS. AFTER THE CONTACT IS MADE, A SUBJECTIVE JUDGEMENT MUST BE MADE BY THE INTERVIEWER AS TO HOW THE RESPONDENT WILL VOTE.

BY THIS PROCESS OF CONTACT AND DISCUSSION, YOU WILL GRADUALLY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF UNDECIDED AND UNKNOWN VOTERS. ADD THESE PEOPLE TO THE APPROPRIATE "FOR" OR "AGAINST" FILE, AS THEIR POSITION BECOMES OBVIOUS.

AS THIS PORTION OF THE CAMPAIGN PROGRESSES, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO TABULATE THE NUMBER OF 'YES' VOTES YOU ARE ACQUIRING. YOUR INITIAL OBJECTIVE IS TO OBTAIN A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS TO WIN THE ELECTION. TO DETERMINE HOW MANY FAVORABLE VOTES IT WILL TAKE TO WIN THE ELECTION,

EXAMINE RECORDS OF PREVIOUS BOND ELECTIONS AND DETERMINE EITHER THE PROBABLE TOTAL VOTE OR THE PROBABLE NEGATIVE VOTE. THEN CALCULATE THE NUMBER OF 'YES' VOTES REQUIRED TO WIN, ALLOWING AT LEAST A 15% MARGIN.

IF YOU ARE UNABLE TO PROJECT PROBABLE TURNOUT BY EXAMINATION OF RECORDS, OTHER LESS ACCURATE SYSTEMS MAY BE USED. IT IS QUITE COMMON IN IOWA FOR BOND ELECTION TURNOUTS TO APPROXIMATE THE TOTAL K-12 ENROLLMENT IN A SCHOOL DISTRICT. IT IS UNUSUAL FOR MANY MORE THAN 40% OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS TO TURN OUT, ALTHOUGH TURNOUT SEEMS TO BE INVERSELY PROPORTIONAL TO SIZE OF SPONORING MUNICIPALITY.

ONCE YOU HAVE ACCUMULATED A GROUP LISTING OF "YES" VOTES, YOU SHOULD DETERMINE THE PREVIOUS VOTING RECORD OF EACH PERSON ON THE LIST. THIS IS PUBLIC INFORMATION, READILY OBTAINED. REMEMBER, A "YES" VOTE IS NO GOOD TO YOU IF IT ISN'T CAST ON ELECTION DAY!

WITHIN 72 HOURS OF THE ELECTION HAVE YOUR SUB-GROUPS CONTACT EACH POTENTIAL "YES" VOTE WITH A SPOTTY VOTING RECORD AND REMIND HIM OF THE UPCOMING ELECTION. IF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE STILL UNDECIDED, CONTACT EACH OF THOSE UNDECIDED WHO VOTE REGULARLY AND ATTEMPT TO WIN THEIR SUPPORT. ALSO CONTACT UNDECIDED VOTERS WITH SPOTTY VOTING RECORDS AND SUBJECTIVELY DETERMINE THEIR CURRENT POSITION. DO NOT REMIND THEM OF THE ELECTION DATE UNLESS THEY HAVE BECOME SUPPORTERS. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO CALL PEOPLE ON YOUR "YES" LIST WHO VOTE REGULARLY (OR ANYONE OPPOSED TO THE ISSUE) AT THIS TIME.

AS A FINAL STEP, YOUR SUB-GROUPS MUST BE ORGANIZED TO WATCH THE POLLS AND TELEPHONE ALL POTENTIAL "YES" VOTERS ON ELECTION DAY, STARTING FOUR OR FIVE HOURS BEFORE THE POLLS CLOSE. THE MOST IMPORTANT VOTERS TO CALL ARE THOSE WITH SPOTTY VOTING RECORDS. THEN CALL REMAINING "YES" VOTERS.

THE SUCCESS OF THIS SYSTEM IS ONLY AS GOOD AS THE LISTS YOU HAVE DEVELOPED. THERE IS NO PORTION OF YOUR CAMPAIGN MORE IMPORTANT THAN THIS LISTING AND SELECTIVE CALLING.

IF YOUR LISTING FAILS TO SUPPLY SUFFICIENT NAMES TO PASS THE ELECTION (AND YOU HAVE STARTED EARLY ENOUGH), THERE ARE ADDITIONAL WAYS OF HELPING YOURSELF. THEY ARE QUITE OBVIOUS. SIMPLY CONCENTRATE

YOUR CAMPAIGN ON GROUPS WHICH TEND TO SUPPORT BOND ISSUES AS OUTLINED IN CHAPTER 11. FOR EXAMPLE, BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, PARENTS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, COLLEGE GRADUATES, WOMEN, ETC., ARE ALL GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF BOND ISSUES. THE DESIRED TECHNIQUE WITH THESE GROUPS WILL BE TO CONVINCE THEM OF YOUR NEED FOR THEIR SUPPORT AND TO IMPRESS ON THEM THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTING.

ONE TACTIC THAT MAY VERY WELL TIP THE SCALES TOWARD SUCCESS IS THE CULTIVATION OF THE YOUTHFUL, NEWLY-ENFRANCHISED VOTER. THE PROBLEM HERE IS TO OVERCOME APATHY AND/OR RELUCTANCE TO VOTE ON THE PART OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. IF YOU CAN GET THEM OUT, THEY WILL SUPPORT YOU. ADD ALL PEOPLE IN THIS GROUP TO YOUR "YES" LISTS UNLESS YOU ARE SURE THEY ARE OPPOSED TO THE ISSUE. ALLOW THEM TO ORGANIZE THEIR OWN WAY WITH THEIR OWN PEOPLE, AND PROVIDE THEM WITH AN EASY WAY TO REGISTER IF REGISTRATION IS REQUIRED. DISCOURAGE PUBLIC RALLIES OR SIMILAR TACTICS BY THIS GROUP, BECAUSE IT MAY NOT ONLY INFLAME THE PUBLIC, BUT REMIND YOUR OPPOSITION OF THE ELECTION. WORK VERY HARD WITH THIS GROUP AND YOU WILL BE RICHLY REWARDED.

A SHORT WORD ABOUT ABSENTEE BALLOTS. DO NOT OVERLOOK THEIR USE BY ANYONE ON YOUR "YES" LIST. DO NOT ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE WIDESPREAD USE OF THESE BALLOTS, BUT RECOGNIZE THAT THEY DO OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE THE "YES" VOTE TOTAL.

AS A FINAL WORD, BE REMINDED THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR PROPER PLANNING AND HARD WORK. DO NOT LET THE CAMPAIGN RUN YOU. YOU MUST STICK WITH IT AND THE REWARDS WILL BE AMPLE. GOOD LUCK.

IOWA BOND ISSUE HISTORY

JANUARY 1, 1960 - DECEMBER 31, 1972

YEAR	TOTAL ISSUES	ISSUES OVER 60%	ISSUES OVER 50%	% OVER 60	% OVER 50
1960	66	45	59	68	89
1961	83	50	66	60	80
1962	73	39	60	53	82
1963	64	27	45	42	70
1964	74	44	67	60	91
1965	67	46	61	69	91
1966	75	54	65	72	87
1967	80	57	66	71	82
1968	88	60	71	68	81
1969	90	55	74	61	82
1970	54	15	30	28	55
1971	47	16	28	34	60
1972	70	35	55	50	78
13 - YEAR AVERAGE 1960 THRU 1972	71	41	57	58	80

EXPLANATION OF EXHIBITS

PLATE A - INDICATES SUCCESS RATIO OF BOND ISSUES 1960-1972. DOTTED LINE SHOWS THAT OVER THAT TIME SPAN MORE THAN 80% OF ISSUES OBTAINED AT LEAST A SIMPLE MAJORITY IN EACH YEAR EXCEPT 1963 AND 1970. SOLID LINE INDICATES THAT OVER 50% OF ALL ISSUES PASSED IN EACH YEAR PRIOR TO 1970 EXCEPT 1963.

PLATE B - INDICATES NUMBER OF ISSUES EACH YEAR 1960-1972, TOGETHER WITH NUMBER OF ISSUES GAINING APPROVAL AND NUMBER GAINING A SIMPLE MAJORITY.

PLATE C - INDICATES PROPORTION OF BOND ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL EACH MONTH OF THE YEAR.

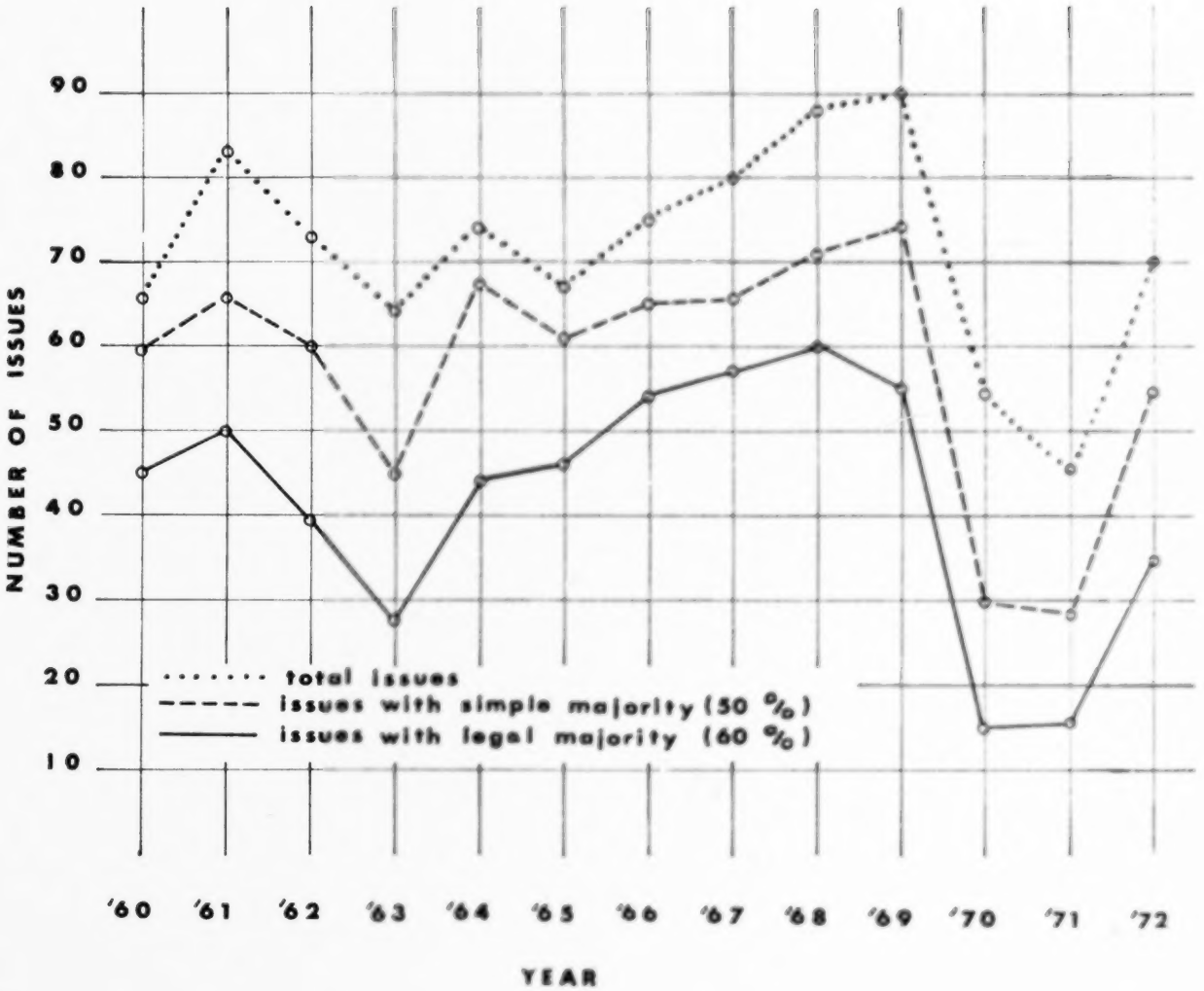
PLATE D - INDICATES PROPORTION OF BOND ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL BROKEN DOWN BY TIME OF MONTH.

PLATE E - INDICATES PROPORTION OF BOND ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL BROKEN DOWN BY DAY OF THE WEEK.

PLATE F - INDICATES NUMBER OF ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN HELD ON EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

PLATE G - INDICATES THE EFFECT OF SIZE OF ISSUE AS IT RELATES TO SUCCESS. ISSUES FALLING IN SHADED AREA ARE THOSE WHICH OBTAINED A MAJORITY, BUT FAILED TO PASS BECAUSE THEY DID NOT OBTAIN 60%.

hukill bond study plate **A**



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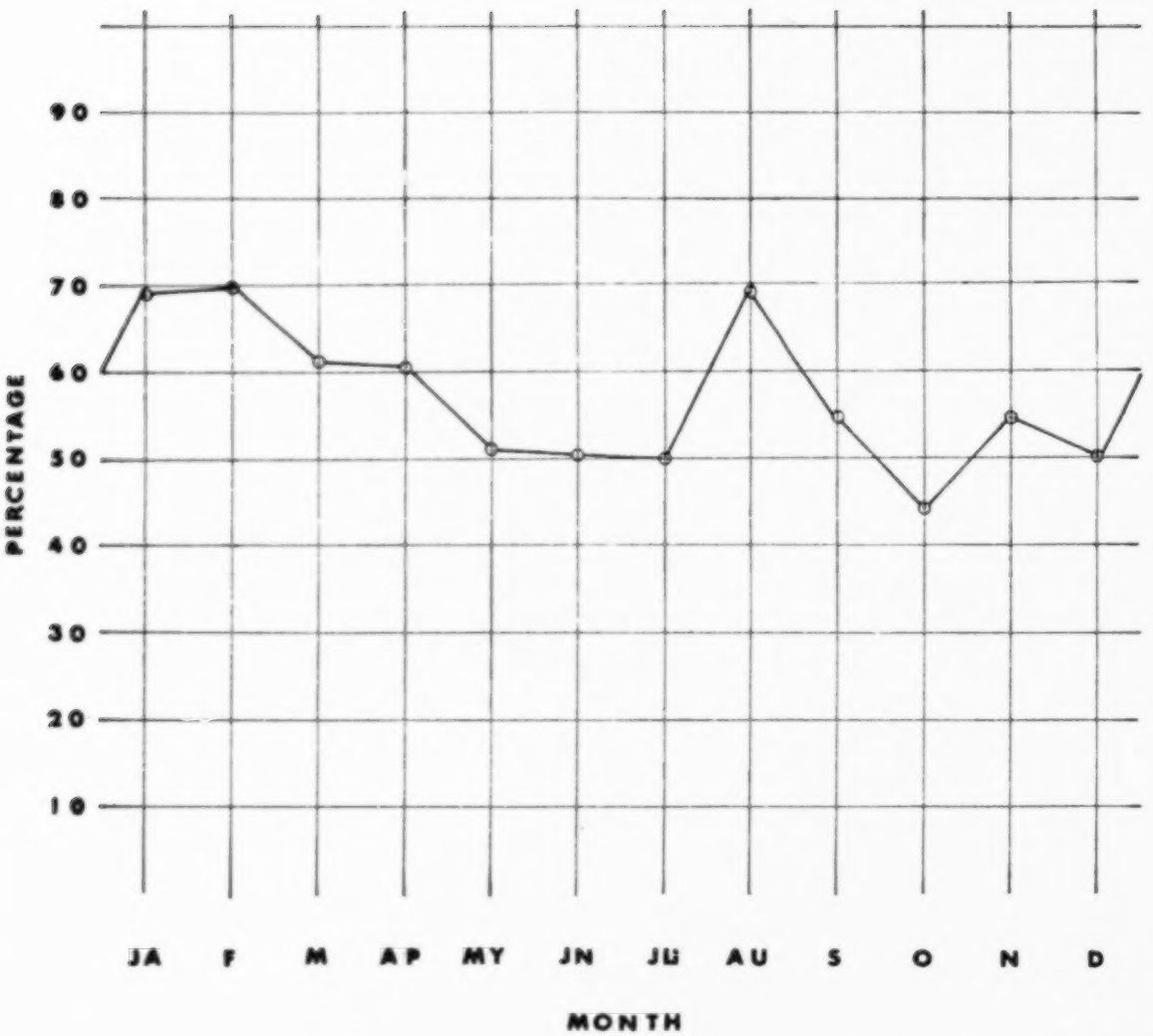

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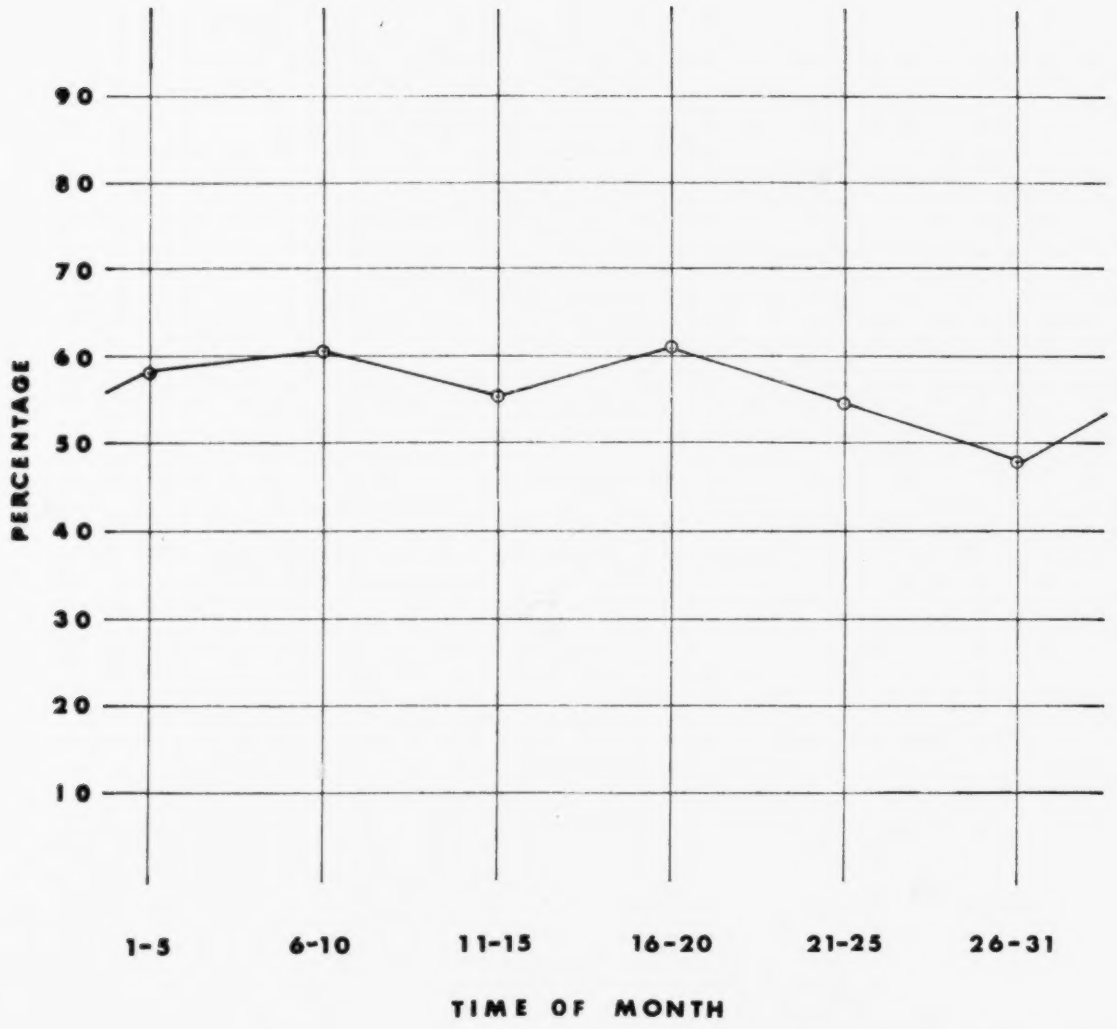

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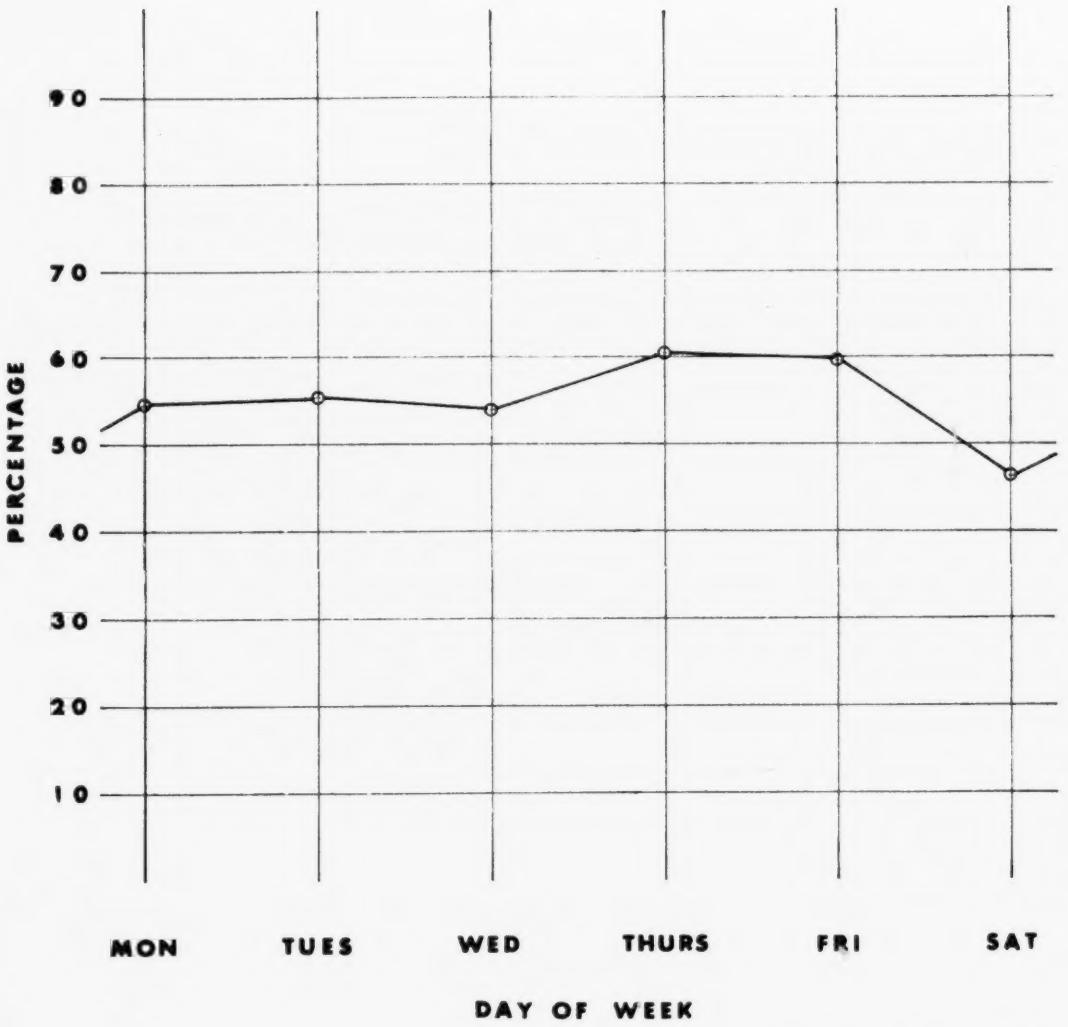

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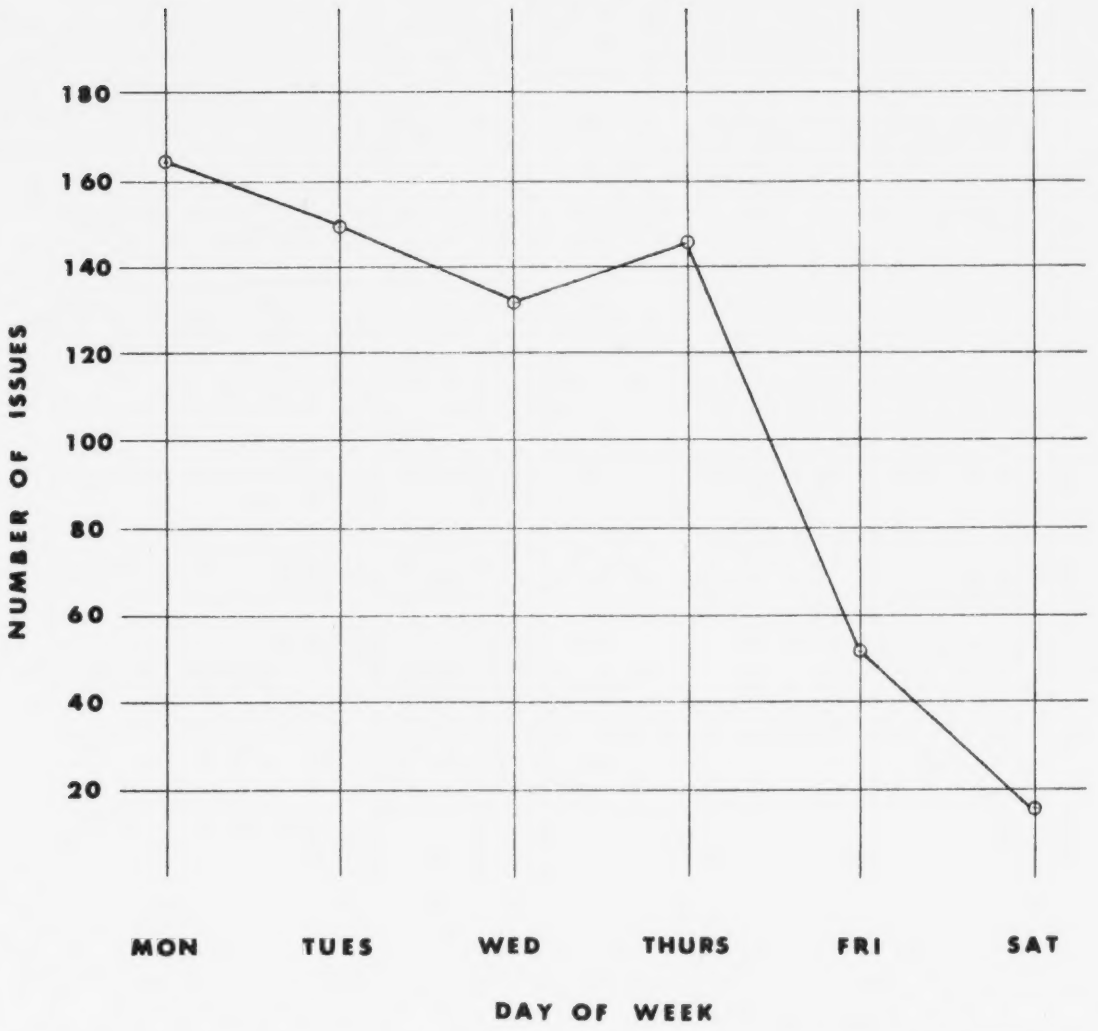

hukill bond study plate F